/109 cont./

124 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the
423 highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they [123] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they [522] are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a 157 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation, 521 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of 522 an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light, [834] idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found 522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes 157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually 609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers 522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they 159 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one [797] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.

[223] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.

[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 • 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are 487 [488] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

1: Nachtigall--215 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends [176] and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate 609 is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is 539 primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the [887] very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could 609 surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old 539 people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among [534] the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family.

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants.

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados."

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters.

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave.

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men. Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful. On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at, except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing consists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kût*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

4:Bernal Villa--17 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

/190 cont./
them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must maintain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run the school which is supported by the national government.

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609 797 871 829 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let them remain."

666 829 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of [773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 175 648 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860, thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod [464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his [665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 665 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

/175 cont./

193 In like manner, the children, in referring to their
601 parents, place in front the possessive anji or uk, according to whether the speakers are male or female, respectively.

Anjí tẽwesh (my parents, male speaker).
Uk tewesh (my parents, female speaker).
Anji ishiwesh (my grandparents).
Uk ishiwesh (my grandparents).

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557 Non-relatives designate the grandparents: nesh wẽla.
576 When a speaker is younger than the person referred to, and
● 609 that person is a father, the correct way to speak of him is "the father of so-and-so," for example: if our informant Victoriano Piñakué (18 years old) wants to refer to Cerveleón Guagás (55 years old), he does not simply mention him by name, because this is a "grosería" /rudeness/, but he says "the father of Alfonso" (who is his eldest son), Pons nei, or Marcelo nei if he refers to the father of Marcelo. If the first-born is dead, he would say unás nei, father of the deceased. If the speaker is older than the person referred to, he may simply call him by name, but only when there is familiarity between the two; otherwise he must use the form previously mentioned. Thus, for example, Vicente Puche, who is older then Julián Piñakué (father of our informant), and since he is familiar with him, simply calls him Kilián; if he were not, he would say Vit nei (father of Victoriano). The identical form is followed for a woman older than the speaker, for example: Pons nihi (mother of Alfonso); Vit nihi (mother of Victoriano); Unás nihi (mother of the deceased).

If our informant Piñakué wishes to express this thought, "Cerveleón, I want something," he must say, "Father of Alfonso, I want something" (Pons nei tech yugũe guau wet). He may call him simply Cerveleón, but far away from him and when he is among people who are not relatives, but, he adds, this is not respectful. If Cerveleón heard this said, he would be annoyed.

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551 In referring to a grandfather, for example, Alfonso's,
609 one would say, Pons nei, if the speaker is well known to Alfonso; otherwise he would say Liõn nei (father of Cerveleõn), especially if he were in the presence of the grandfather.

In referring to the paternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons niñuk.

In referring to the maternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nekfhka.

In referring to the paternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nsuts.

In referring to the maternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nihiñuk.

Relations between Relatives

603 As we have seen, general respect is owed to older persons
[188] by younger persons. Patterns of conduct between grandparents and grandchildren are governed by emotional factors, these being more or less affectionate, according to their mutual comportment. If the grandparents /177/ are kind to their grandchildren, they are given their love and consideration; if the contrary is the case, the attitude is one of cold respect. If the grandchildren say "what an old pig he is," the grandfather will not love them.

604 It is affirmed that with the paternal and maternal uncles
551 an identical pattern of conduct is observed. They cannot be designated solely by name. Thus, if Victoriano Piñakuẽ addresses his uncle by his name, the latter will reply that he has no manners, for he should show respect. "You must say uncle," he advises. His mother will scold him: "you are rude to speak like
604 that, say uncle." Greater respect is owed to Ego's older uncles than to uncles younger than he is. To the former he gives a blessing as he does to his parents. One should not mention "cosas feas" /ugly things/ in their presence or joke with them. If the uncle wishes to joke with the nephew, the latter should

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effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the

4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the opposite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desaffo; pelea que es un desaffo solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paez, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones" /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive, that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.